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DEMANDS RELIEF HARDING FARMER AND CHILD IN INDUSTRY

hoped to dictate to or destroy the Republican party through the creation of a national movement. With two or three exceptions the comment of promoters of the farm bloc was impres sively favorable to the President's clear cut and tangible scheme for providing relief for the farmers.

Railway Policy Applauded.

description of the causes and effects of the conditions which brought about the railway strike last summer and added to the other burdens of the farmers, was also generously applauded. His statement that a merger of railway lines into systems, a facilitated interchange of freight cars, the economic use of terminals, the con-solidation of facilities might be neces-sary to bring about badly needed im-provements found instant response and approval on the part of the vast majority of Republican legislators and a great many Democratic.

The President's condemnation of the obstinacy of both the railway executive and railway labor groups was vocally indersed, as was the suggestion that a neutral and non-partisan labor board with increased powers might more fully meet the situation than the present plan.

Hearty applause followed his declaration that "it is an impotent civilization and an inadequate government which lacks the genius and the courage to guard against such a menace public welfare as we experienced st summer." The President was relast summer." ferring to the strikes which wrought such disastrous consequences to the business of the country.

Less Applause for Tariff.

There was rather less applause to his reference to the new tariff law which the leaders of his party concede contributed to Democratic advantage in the recent elections. There was much more approval when he declared there was no justification for the assumption that while this country was unwilling to assume the correction of all of the ills of the world such unwillingness implied any reluctance to his reference to the new tariff law which the leaders of his party concede contributed to Democratic advantage in the recent elections. There was much more approval when he declared there was no justification for the assumption that while this country was unwilling to assume the correction of all of the ills of the world such unwillingness implied any rejuctance to cooperate with other peoples or to as-sume all just obligations to promote human advancement. His denunciation of the abuse of national hospitalare finding their deluded followers among those "who take on the habili-ments of an American without knowng an American soul" was likewise

seceived with approval.

The greatest outburst of applause ame when the President touchel on the prohibition law, although his condemnation of widespread contempt for that measure brought less of favorable reaction than this statement reguld-

Constitutional prohibition has been adopted by the nation. It is the supreme law of the land. In plain eaking there are conditions relating its enforcement which savor of a wide scandal. It is the mos

Majority Seems Wet.

the applause that followed this nent reflects the honest Conof the members of the two majority of them united in apding it, with some of the spec-

ne President's reference to foreign plems of which the United States st take cognizance developed mixed ctions. The group of Senators who osed the treaties agreed on by the ference for the limitation of arma-nts obviously did not like one or o references made to them. This s particularly true of his reference

the four Power treaty "which abol-ies every probability of war on the icific, has brought new confidence a maintained peace and we can well elieve that it might be made a model for life assurances wherever in the world any common interests are con-Comment by Republican and Demo-

cratic Senators who opposed the League of Nations and armaments to oppose the implied ambition of the Government to extend the Pacific treaties to cover the Atlantic as soon former are ratified by nations which have yet to act on them

"Death Battalion" Silent.

The leaders of the "Death Battallon" Versailles treaty fight did not Join in the applause that swept over House of Representatives when the President further touched on the international situation. They appeared to find cause for complaint with this declaration of the President:

"Moreover, we are cognizant of the world's struggles for full readjustment and rehabilitation, and we have shirked no duty which comes of sympathy, of fraternity or highest fellow-ship among nations. . . . Our con-stitutional limitations do not forbid the exercise of moral influence, the measure of which is not less than the high purposes we have sought to serve. After all, there is/less difference about the part this great republic shall play in furthering peace and humanity than in the manner of playing it.

The bloc of Senators opposed to all foreign alliances appeared to sense in the concluding declarations of the President's address an indorsement of the principles set forth in the Verfused to approve more than three Whether there is any justification for their apprehensions on this score is a matter of opinion. retary Hughes refused to elucidate or, in fact, to discuss the President's statements in any way.

Insurgents Refuse to Comment.

Supporters of the President in both houses attach much significance to the fact that Senators La Follette, Borah and their associates in the insurgent and radical group refused to comment on the President's address. Private admissions credited to these tors, however, clearly reflected their displeasure over the most important periods of it, particularly those relating to the agricultural and labor situ

Spokesmen for the President contended that he had taken "an advance step" in dealing with these problems and that the effect of his uggestions would make improbable success of any insurgent or cal movements engineered by his critics in Congress. The President's friends appeared to think he had "taken the starch out of the La Fol-lette movement" by winning the support of the agricultural bloc.

TEST, HARDING SAYS

The President's precise and accurate Complete Text of Address Before Congress Shows No Partisanship.

Says Railway Strike Last Summer Accentuated Weak Government

Believes Immigrants Should Be Examined Before Coming to America.

Special Dispatch to THE NEW YORK HERALD. New York Herald Bureau, Washington, D. C., Dec. 8. Following is the full text of the message delivered to Congress by

President Harding to-day: way humanity harbors individual wishes to go on with wartime com-

wishes to go on with wartime compensations for production, with prewar requirements in expenditure. In short, every one, speaking broadly, craves readjustment for everybody except himself, while there can be no just and permanent readjustment except when all participate.

The civilization which measured its strength of gentus and the power of science and the resources of industries, in addition to testing the limits of man power and the endurance and heroism of men and women—that same civilization is brought to its severest test in restoring a tranquil order and committing humanity to the stable ways of peace.

der and committing humanity to the stable ways of peace.

If the sober and deliberate appraisal of pre-war civilization makes it seem a worth while inheritance, then with patience and good courage it will be preserved. There never again will be precisely the old order; indeed, I know of no one who thinks it to be desirable. For out of the old order came the war itself, and the new order established and made secure, never established and made secure, never will permit its recurrence.

will permit its recurrence.

It is no figure of speech to say we have come to the test of our civilization. The world has been passing—is to-day passing—through a great crisis. The conduct of war itself it not more difficult than the solution of the problems which necessarily follow. I am not speaking at this moment of the problem in its wider aspect of world rehabilitation or of international relationships. The reference is to our own social, financial and economic problems at home. These things are not to be considered soley as problems apart from all international relationship, but every nation must be able to carry on for itself, else its international relationship will have seent importance.

In the folly of conflict our progress was hindered ,and the heavy cost has not yet been fully estimated. There

can be neither adjustment nor the penalty of the failure to readjust in which all do not somehow participate. The railway strike accentuated the difficulty of the American farmer. The first distress of readjustment came to the farmer, and it will not be a readjustment it to abide until he

a readjustment fit to abide until he is relieved. The distress brought to the farmer does not affect him alone. Agricultural fill fortune is a national fill fortune. That one-fourth of our

population which produces the food of the republic and adds so largely to our export commerce must participate in the good fortunes of the nation, else there is none worth relating. Agriculture is a vital activity in our

Agriculture is a vital activity in our national life. In it we had our begin-ning and its westward march with the star of the Empire has reflected the growth of the Republic. It has its vicissitudes which no legislation will prevent, its hardships for which no law can provide escape. But the Con-gress can make available to the farmer

gress can make available to the farmer
the financial facilities which have
been built up under Government ald
and supervision for other commercial
and industrial exterprises. It may be
done on the same solid fundamentals
and make the vitally important agricultural industry more secure, and it
must be done.

This Congress already has taken
cognizance of the misfortune which

cognizance of the misfortune which precipitate defiation brought to American agriculture. Your measures of relief and the reduction of the Federal Reserve discount rate undoubtedly saved the country from wide-

spread disaster. The very proof of helpfulness already given is the strongest argument for the permanent establishment of wider credits here-tofore temporarily extended through the War Finance Corporation.

The farm loan bureau, which already

has proven its usefulness through the Federal Land Banks, may well have it

Land Banks to deal with production credits, with the limitations of time so adjusted to the farm turnover as the Federal Reserve system provides for the turnover in the manufacturing and mercantile world.

Special provision must be made for

Special provision must be made for livestock production credits and the

limit of land loans may be safely en

larged. Various measures are pending before you, and the best Judgment of Congress ought to be expressed in a prompt enactment at the present ses-

But American agriculture needs

donal relationship will have scent importance.

Doubtless our own people have emerged from the world war tumult less impaired than most belligerent Powers; probably we have made larger progress toward reconstruction. Surely we have been fortunate in diminishing unemployment, and our industrial and business activities, which are the life blood of our material existence, have been restored as in no other reconstruction period of like length in the history of the world. Had we escaped the coal and railway strikes, which had no excuse for their beginning and less justification for their delayed settlement, we should have done infinitely better. But labor was insistent on holding to the war heights, and heedless forces of reaction sought the pre-war levels, and both were wrong.

In the folly of conflict our progress

great distributing system.

This transportation problem cannot be waved aside. The demand for low-ered costs on farm products and basic materials cannot be ignored. Rates horizontally increased to meet in-

horizontally increased to meet increased wage outlays during the war inflation, are not easily reduced.

When some very moderate wage reductions were effected last summer there was a 5 per cent. horizontal reduction in rates. I sought at that time in a very informal way to have the railway managers go before the Interstate Commerce Commission and agree to a heavier reduction on farm products and coal and other basic commodities, and leave unchanged the freight tariffs which a very large portion of the traffic was able to bear. Neither the managers nor the com-Neither the managers nor the com-mission saw fit to adopt the sugges-tion, so we had the horizontal reduc-tion too slight to be felt by the higher class cargoes and too little to benefit the heavy tonnage calling most loudly for relief.

Railways are not to be expected to render the most essential service in our social organization without a fair return on capital invested, but the Government has gone so far in the regulation of rates and rules of operation that it has the responsibility of pointing the way to the reduced freight costs so essential to our na-

Government operation does not afford the cure. It was Government operation which brought us to the very order of things against which we now rebel, and we are still liqui-dating the costs of that supreme

Surely the genius of the railway builders has not become extinct among the railway managers. New economics, new efficiencies in cooperation must be found. The fact that labor takes 50 to 60 per cent of total railway earnings makes limitations within which to effect economies very difficult, but the demand is no less insistent on that account.

clearly the managers are without the intercarrier, cooperative relationship so highly esential to the best and most economical operation. They could not function in harmony when the strike threatened the paralysis of

fied public demand.

The merger of lines into systems, a facilitated interchange of freight cars the economic use of terminals and the consolidation of facilities are suggested ways of economy and effi-

remind you that Congress pro-

more than added credit facilities. The credits will help to solve the pressing problems growing out of war inflated land values and the drastic deflation of three years ago, but permanent and deserved agricultural good fortune de-pends on better and cheaper transpor-tation.

Here is an outstanding problem, Here is an outstanding problem, demanding the most rigorous consideration of the Congress of the country. It has to do with more than agriculture. It provides the channal for the flow of the country's commerce. But the farmer is particularly hard hit. His market, so affected by the world consumption, does not admit of the price adjustment to meet carrying charges.

price adjustment to meet carrying charges.

In the last half of the year now closing, the railways, broken in carrying capacity because of motive power and rolling stock out of order, though insistently declaring to the contrary, embargoed his shipments or denied him cars when fortunate markets were cailing. Too frequently transportation failed while preishable products were turned from possible profit to losses counted in tens of millions.

I know of no problem exceeding in importance this one of transportation. In our complex and interdependent modern life transportation is essential to our very existence. Let us pass for the moment the menace in the possible paralysis of such service as we have and note the failure, for whatever reason, to expand our

for whatever reason, to expand our transportation to meet the nation's

transportation to meet the nation's needs.

The census of 1880 recorded a population of 50,000,000. In two decades more we may reasonably expect to count thrice that number. In the three decades ending in 1920 the country's freight by rail increased from 631,000,000 tons to 2,234,000,000 tons; that is to say, while our population was increasing less than 70 per cent, the freight movement increased over 250 per cent.

We built 40 per cent of the world's railroad mileage, and yet find it inadequate to our present requirements. When we contemplate the inadequacy of to-day it is easy to believe that the next few decades will witness the paralysis of our transportation—using social scheme or a complete reorganization on some new bases. Mindful of the tremendous costs of betterments, extensions, and expansions, and mindful of the staggering debts of the world to-day, the difficulty is magnified.

Here is a problem demanding wide vision and the avoidance of mere

world to-day, the dimculty is magnified.

Here is a problem demanding wide vision and the avoidance of mere makeshifts. No matter what the errors of the past, no matter how we acclaimed construction and then condemned operations in the past, we have the transportation and the honest investment in the transportation which sped us on to what we are, and we face conditions which reflect its inadequacy to-morrow, and we contemplate transportation costs which much of the traffic cannot and will not continue to pay.

Manifestly, we have need to begin

Manifestly, we have need to begin on plans to coordinate all transportation facilities. We should more effectively connect up our rail lines with our carriers by sea. We ought to reap some benefit from the hundreds of millions expended on inland waterways, praying our capacity to utilize ways, proving our capacity to utilize as well as expand. We ought to turn the motor truck into a railway feeder and distributor instead of a destroying competitor.

It would be folly to ignore that we live in a motor are. The motor cap

It would be folly to ignore that we live in a motor age. The motor car reflects our standard of living and gauges the speed of our present day life. It long ago ran down simple living and never halted to inquire about the prostrate figure which fell as its victim. With full recognition of motor car transportation we must turn it to the most practical use. It cannot supersede the railway lines, no matter how generously we afford it highways out of the public treasurry.

it highways out of the public treasury.

If freight traffic by motor were charged with its proper and proportionate share of highway construction, we should find much of it wasteful and more costly than like service by rail. Yet we have paralleled the railways, a most natural line of construction, and thereby taken away from the agency of expected service much of its profitable traffic, which the taxpayers have been providing the highways, whose cost of maintenance is not yet realized.

realized.

The Federal Government has a right to inquire into the wisdom of this policy because the national treasury is contributing largely to this highway construction. Costly highways ought to be made to serve as feeders rather than competitors of the rall-roads, and the motor truck should be a confined actor in our a coordinate factor in our

all railway transportation. The rela-tionship of the service to public wel-fare, so intimately affected by State and Federal regulation, demands the effective correlation and a concerted drive to meet an insistent and justi-

vided a joint commission of agricul-tural inquiry which made an exhaus-tive investigation or car service and transportation and unanimously

recommended in its report of October 15, 1921, the pooling of freight cars under a central agency. This report well deserves your serious consideration. I think well of the central agency, which shall be a creation of the railways themselves, to provide, under the jurisdiction of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the means for financing equipment for carriers which are otherwise unable to provide their proportion of car requipment adequate to transportation needs. This same agency ought to point the way to every possible economy in maintained equipment and the necessary interchanges in railway commerce.

In a previous address to the Con-

In a previous address to the Congress I called to your attention the insufficiency of power to enforce the decisions of the Railroad Labor Board. Carriers have ignored its decisions on the one hand, railway workmen have challenged its decisions by a strike on the other hand.

a strike on the other hand.

The intent of Congress to establish a tribunal to which railway labor and

The intent of Congress to establish a tribunal to which railway labor and managers may appeal respecting questions of wages and working conditions cannot be too strongly commended. It is vitally important that some such agency should be a guaranty against suspended operations. The public must be spared even the threat of discontinued service.

Sponsoring the railroads, as we do, it is an obligation that labor shall be assured the highest justice and every proper consideration of wage and working conditions, but it is an equal obligation to see that no concerted action in forcing demands shall deprive the public of the transportation so essential to its very existence. It is now impossible to safeguard public interest, because the decrees of the board are unenforceapie against either employer or employee.

The labor board itself is not so constituted as best to serve the nublic

interest, because the decrees of the board are unenforceanic against either employer or employee.

The labor board itself is not so constituted as best to serve the public interest. With six partisan members on a board of nine, three partisans nominated by the employees and three by the railway managers, it is inevitable that the partisan viewpoint is maintained throughout hearings and in decisions handed down. Indeed, the few exceptions to a strictly partisan expression in decisions thus far rendered have been followed by accusations of betrayal of the partisan interests represented. Only the public group of three is free to function in unbiased decisions. Therefore, the partisan membership may well be abolished and decisions should be made by an impartial tribunal.

I am well convinced that the functions of this tribunal could be much better carried on here in Washington. Even were it to be continued as a separate tribunal there ought to be contact with the Interstate Commerce Commission, which has supreme authority in the rate making to which wage costs bears an indissoluble relationship.

Theoretically, a fair and living wage must be determined quite apart from the employer's earning capacity, but in practice, in the railway service, they are inseparable. The record of advanced rates to meet increased wages both determined by the government, is proof enough.

The substitution of a labor division in the Interstate Commerce Commission, made up from its membership, to hear and decide disputes relating to wages and working conditions which have failed of adjustment by proper committees created by the railways and their employees, offers a more effective plan.

It need not be surprising that there is dissatisfaction over delayed hearings and decisions by the present board when overy trivial dispute is carried to that tribunal. The law should require the railroads and their employees to institute means and methods to negotiate between themselves their constantly arising differences, limiting appeals to the Govern

This suggested substitution will involve a necessary increase in the membershit, of the commission, probably four, to constitute the labor division. If the suggestion appeals to the Congress it will be well to specify that the labor division shall be constituted of representatives of the four rate making territories, thereby assuring a tribunal conversant with the conditions which obtain in the different rate making sections of the country.

I wish I could bring to you the precise recommendation for the prevention of strikes, which threaten the welfare of the people and menace pub-This suggested substitution will in-

welfare of the people and menace pub-lic safety. It is an important civili-zation and an inadequate Government which lacks the genius and the courage

You were aware of the Govern-You were aware of the Government's great concern and its futile attempt to aid in an adjustment. It will reveal the inexcusable obstinacy which was responsible for so much distress to the country to recall now that, though all disputes are not yet adjusted, the many settlements which have been made, were on the terms which the Government proposed in mediation.

which the Government proposed in mediation.

Public interest demands that ample power shall be conferred upon the labor tribunal, whether it is the pres-ent board or the suggested substitute, to require its rulings to be accepted by both parties to a disputed ques-

Let there be no confusion about the

tional rights of either railway workmen or railway managers.

No man can be denied his right to
labor when and how he chooses, or
cease to labor when he so elects, but,
since the Government assumes to safeguard his interests while employed in
an essential public service, the security of society itself demands his retirement from the service shall not be
so timed and related as to effect the
destruction of that service. This
vitally essential public transportation
service, demanding so much of brain
and brawn, so much for efficiency and
security, ought to offer the most attractive working conditions and the
highest of wages paid to workmen in
any employment.

any employment.

In essentially every branch, from track repairer to the man at the locomotive throttle, the railroad worker is responsible for the safety of human lives and the care of vast property. lives and the care of vast property. His high responsibility might well rate high his pay within the limits the traffic will bear; but the same responsibility plus fovernmental protection, may justly deny him and his associates a withdrawal from service without a would or under circumstances which, involve the paralysis of processary transportation. We have

without a would be a considered assumed to great a responsibility in necessary transportation. We have assumed so great a responsibility in necessary regulation that we unconsciously have assumed the responsibility for maintained service; therefore be lawful power for the enforcement of decisions is necessary to sustain the majesty of government and to administer to the public welfare. During its longer session the present Congress enacted a new tariff law. The protection of the American standards of living demanded the insurance it provides against the distorted conditions of world commerce. The framers of the law made provision for a certain flexibility of customs duties, whereby it is possible to readjust them as developing conditions may require. The enactment has imposed a large responsibility upon the executive, but that responsibility will be discharged with a broad mindfulness of the whole business situation.

The provision itself admits either the posible fallibility of rates or their unsultableness to changing conditions.

I believe the grant of authority may be promptly and discreetly exercised, ever mindful of the intent and purpose to safeguard American industrial activity and at the same time prevent the exploitation of the American consumer and keep open the paths of such liberal exchanges as do not endanger our own productivity.

No one contemplates commercial aloofness nor any other aloofness contradictory to the best American traditions or loftiest human purposes. Our fortunate capacity for comparative self-containment affords the firm foundation on which to build our own security and a like foundation on which to build for a future of influence and importance in world commerce. Our trade expansion must come of capacity and of policies of righteousness and reasonableness in all our commercial relations.

Let no one assume that our provision for maintained good fortune at home and our unwillingness to assume the correction of all the ills of the world means a reluctance to cooperate with other peoples or to assume every just obligation to promote human advancement anywhere in the world.

War made us a creditor nation. We did not seek an excess possession of

human advancement anywhere in the world.

War made us a creditor nation. We did not seek an excess possession of the world's gold, and we have neither desire to profit unduly by its possession nor permanently retain it. We do not seek to become an international dictator because of its power.

The voice of the United States has a respectful hearing in international councils, because we have convinced the world that we have no selfish ends to serve, no old grievances to avenge, no territorial or other greed to satisfy. But the voice being heard is that of good counsel, not of dictation. It is the voice of sympathy and fraternity and helpfulness, seeking to assist, but not to assume for the United States burdens which nations must bear for themselves. We would rejoice to help rehabilitate currency systems and facilitate all commerce which does not drag us to the very levels of those we seek to lift up.

While I have everlasting faith in our republic, it would be folly, indeed, to blind ourselves to our problems at home. Abusing the hospitality of our shores are the advocates of revolution, finding their deluded followers among those who take on the, habiliments of an American without knowing an American soul. There is the recrudescence of hyphenated Americanism which we thought to have been stamped out when we committed the Nation, life and soul, to the World War.

ism which we thought to have been stamped out when we committed the Nation, life and soul, to the World War.

There is a call to make the alien respect our institutions while he accepts our hospitality. There is need to magnify the American viewpoint to the alien who seeks citizenship among us. There is need to magnify the national viewpoint to Americans throughout the land. More, there is a demand for every living being in the United States to respect and abide by the laws of the republic. Let men who are rendering the moral fibre of the republic through easy contempt for the prohibition law, because they think it restricts their personal liberty, remember that they set the example and breed a contempt for law which will ultimately destroy the republic.

Constitutional prohibition has been adopted by the nation. It is the supreme law of the land. In plain speaking, there are conditions polating to its enforcement which savor of nationwide scandal. It is the most demoralizing factor in our public life. Most of our people assumed that the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment meant the elimination of the question from our politics. On the contrary, it has been so intensified as an issue that many voters are disposed to make all political decisions with reference to this single question. It is distracting the public mind and prejudicing the judgment of the electorate.

The day is unlikely to come when the Eighteenth Amendment will be repealed. The fact may as well be recognized and our course adapted accordingly. If the statutory provisions for its enforcement are contrary to deliberate public opinion, which I do not believe, the righteous and literal enforcement will concentrate public attention on any requisite modification. Such a course conforms with the law and saves the humiliation of ficial corruption and individual demoralization.

The Eighteenth Amendment involves the concurrent authority of State and Federal Governments for the enforce-

The Eighteenth Amendment involves the concurrent authority of State and rederal governments for the enforce-ment of the policy it defines. A cer-tain lack of definiteness, through di-vision of responsibility, is thus intro-duced. In order to bring about a full understanding of duties and responsi-bilities as thus distributed. I purpose to

understanding of duties and responsi-biltes as thus dstributed, I purpose to invite the Governors of the States and Territories at an early opportunity to a conference with the Federal execu-tive authority.

Out of the full and free considera-tions which will thus be possible, it is confidently believed, will emerge a more adequate comprehension of the whole problem and definite policies of national and State cooperation in ad-ministering the laws

whole problem and definite policies of national and State cooperation in administering the laws

There are pending bills for the registration of the alien who has come to our shores. I wish the passage of such an act might be expedited. Life amid American opportunities is worth the cost of registration if it is worth the seeking, and the nation has the right to know who are citizens in the making or who live among us and share our advantages while seeking to undermine our cherished institutions. This provision will enable us to guard against the abuses in immigration, checking the undesirable whose irregular coming is his first violation of our laws. More, it will facilitate the needed Americantizing of those who mean to enroll as fellow citizens.

Before enlarging the immigration quotas we had better provide registration for allens, those now here or continually pressing for admission, and establish our examination boards abroad to make sure of desirables only. By the examination abroad we could end the pathos at our ports, when men and women find our doors closed, after long voyages and wasted savings, because they are unfit for admission. It would be kindlier and safer to tell them before they embark.

Our program of admission, and

safer to tell them before they embark.

Our program of admission and treatment of immigrants is very intimately related to the educational policy of the republic. With illiteracy estimated at from two-tenths of 1 per cent. to less than 2 per cent in ten of the foremost nations of Europe, it rivets our attention to a serious problem, when we are reminded of a 6 per cent. illiteracy in the United States. The figures are based on the test, which defines an illiterate as one having no schooling whatever. Remembering the wide freedom of our public schools, with compulsory attendance bering the wide freedom of our public schools, with compulsory attendance in many States in the Union, one is convinced that much of our excessive illiteracy comes to us from abroad, and the education of the immigrant becomes a requisite to his Americanization. It must be done, if he is fittingly to exercise the duties, as well as enjoy the privileges of American citizenship. Here is revealed the special field for Federal cooperation in furthering education.

furthering education.

From the cery beginning public education has been left mainly in the Lands of the States. So far as schooling youth is concerned the

policy has been justified, because no responsibility can be so effective as that of the local community alive to its task. I believe in the cooperation of the national authority to stimulate, encourage and broaden the work of the local authorities. But it is the especial obligation of the Federal Government to devise means and effectively assist in the education of the newcomer from foreign lands, so that the level of American education may be made the highest that is humanly possible.

Closely related to this problem of education is the abolition of child labor. Twice Congress has attempted the correction of the evils incident to child employment.

The decision of the Supreme Court has put this problem outside the proper domain of Federal regulation until the Constitution is so amended as to give the Congress indubitable authority. I recommend the submission of such an amendment.

We have two schools of thought re-

the Congress indubitable authority. The recommend the submission of such an amendment.

We have two schools of thought relating to amendment of the Constitution. One need not be committed to the belief that amendment is weakening the fundamental law, or that excessive amendment is essential to meet every ephemeral whim. We ought to amend to meet the demands of the people when sanctioned by deliberate public opinion.

One year ago I suggested the submission of an amendment so that we may lawfully restrict the issues of tax-exempt securities and I renew that recommendation now. Tax-exempt securities are drying up the sources of Federal taxation and they are encouraging unproductive and extravagant expenditures by States and municipalities. There is more than the menace in mounting public debt, there is the dissipation of capital which should be made available to the needs of productive industry.

should be made available to the needs of productive industry.

The proposed amendment will place the State and Federal Governments and all political subdivisions on an exact equality, and will correct the growing menace of public borrowing which if left unchecked may soon threaten the stability of our institutions.

We are so vast and so varied in our national interests that scores of problems are pressing for attention. I

national interests that scores of prob-lems are pressing for attention. I must not risk the wearying of your patience with detailed reference. Reclamation and irrigation projects, where waste land may be made avail-able for settlement and productivity, are worthy of your favorable consid-eration.

eration.

When it is realized that we are When it is realized that we are consuming our timber four times as rapidly as we are growing it, we must encourage the greatest possible coperation between the Federal Government, the various States, and the owners of forest lands, to the end that protection from fire shall be made more effective and replanting encour-

The fuel problem is under study now by a very capable fact finding commission and any attempt to deal with the coal problem, of such deep concern to the entire nation, must await the report of the commission.

There are necessary studies of great problems which Congress might well initiate. The wide spread between production costs and prices which consumers pay concerns every citizen of the republic. It contributes very largely to the unrest in agriculture and must stand sponsor for much against which we inveigh in that familiar term—the high cost of living. The fuel problem is under study

against which we inveigh in that familiar term—the high cost of living.

No one doubts the excess is traceable to the levy of the middleman, but it would be unfair to charge him with all responsibility before we appraise what is exacted of him by our modernly complex life. We have attacked the problem on one side by the promotion of cooperative marketing, and we might well inquire into the benefits of cooperative buying.

Admittedly, the consumer is much to blame himself, because of his prodigal expenditure and his exaction of service, but government might well serve to point the way of narrowing the spread of price, especially between the production of food and its consumption.

tion.

A super-power survey of the Eastern industrial region has feeently been completed, looking to unification of steam, water and electric powers, and to a unified scheme of power distribution. The survey proved that vast economies in tonnage movement of freights, and in the efficiency of the railroads, would be effected if the super-power program were adopted. I am convinced that constructive measures calculated to promote such an industrial development—I am tempted to say, such an industrial revolution—would be well worthy the careful attention and fostering interest of the national Government.

The proposed survey of a plan to

national Government.

The proposed survey of a plan to draft all the resources of the republic, human and material, for national defense may well have your approval. I commended such a program in case of future war, in the inaugural address of March 4, 1921, and every experience in the adjustment and liquidation of war claims and the settlement of war obligations persuades ment of war obligations persuades ment.

dation of war claims and the settlement of war obligations persuades me we ought to be prepared for such universal call to armed defense.

I bring you no apprehension of war. The world is abhorrent of it, and our own relations are not only free from every threatening cloud, but we have contributed our larger influence toward making armed conflict less likely. Those who assume that we played our part in the world war and later took ourselves aloof and apart, unmindful of world obligations, give scant credit to the helpful part we assume in international relationships.

Whether all nations signatory ratify all the treaties growing out of the Washington conference on limitation Washington conference on limitation of armament or some withhold approval, the underlying policy of limiting naval armament has the sanction of the larger naval Powers, and naval competition is suspended. Of course, unanimous ratification is much to be desired.

The four Power pact, which abolishes every probability of a war on the Pacific, has brought new confi-dence in a maintained peace, and I can well believe it might be made a model for like assurances wherever in the world any common interests are

we have had expressed the hostility of the American people to a supergovernment or to any commitment where either a council or an assembly of leagued powers may chart our course. Treaties of armed alliance can have no likelihood of American sanction, but we believe in respecting the rights of nations, in the value of conference and consultation, in the effectiveness of leaders of nations looking each other in the face before resorting to the arbitrament of arms. It has been our fortune both to preach and promote international understanding. The influence of the United States in bringing near the settlement of an ancient dispute between South American nations is added proof of the glow of peace in ample understanding. In Washington to-day are met the delegates of the Central American nations, gathered at the table of international understanding, to stabilize their republics and remove every vestige of disagreement. We have had expressed the hostil-

agreement.

They are met here by our invitation, not in our aloofness, and they accept our hospitality because they have faith in our unselfishness and believe in our helpfulness. Perhaps we are selfish in craving their confidence and friendship, but such selfishness we proclaim to the world, regardless of hemisphere or seas dividing.

I would like the Congress and the people of the nation to believe that in a firm and considerate way we are

EDITORIAL OPINION DEMOCRATS JOIN IN

This Morning's Newspapers Comment From Both Sides in Discuss the Demands of the President.

Another Is That His Leader- Program So Broad Some Memship Will Be Tested in Response Made.

concrete, it will be time enough to debate them. The general spirit of his message is excellent. It may be a pity that it cannot all be at once crystalized into the statute book, but no one knows better than he that it cannot be. Congress will shower praise upon him for his commendable suggestions; and then will perforce pass to the pressing business in hand.

Representatives, expressed approval of his suggestions relating to agricultural, prohibition, railway, labor and foreign problems.

Opinion was pronounced, however, that new legislation designed to meet the conditions described by the President could not be considered at the short Congress, would have the supply and the statute of the president could not be considered at the short Congress.

New York World—His message to the Sixty-seventh Congress in the final session of its discreditable career is quite the best thing he has ever done. It is the sincer effort of a well meaning nan to find his way out of this labyrinth and to help the country find its way out. Plainly enough, the lesson of the November election has not been lost on the President, and with the unsatisfactory tools at his disposal he is trying to blaze a trail for his party. It is not a very clear trail as yet, but it is a trail, and there is little in his recommendations that can be construed as mere partisanship. Some of them are debatable for this reason or for that reason, and some of them are anything but sound politically or economically; but the President mow seems to be out from under the tutelage of the Old Guard, terrorised though he still may be by the roars and threats of the Irreconcliables, He is feeling his way ahead, however, slowly and cautiously, but he is going forward, not backward.

New York Tribune—President Harding's second annual message to Congress is full of far driving, constructive suggestions. It deals with urgent downestic problems in the frankest and most practical way. It is not covered over with the hard and slippery glaze of vague political generalization. It is courageously concrete—the strongest and bluntest which the President's saddress to Congress to-day carried the positive and upstanding tone of a man who has a grip on his icb, even though it is a most difficult and perplexing job, and is ready to offer for the difficulties certain solutions or me'nodes of alleviation which he believes will commend themselves to the sober thought of the Calls Address Masterly. New York World-His message to the the new Congress next December.

it is a most difficult and perplexing job, and is ready to offer for the difficulties certain solutions or methods of alleviation which he believes will commend themselves to the sober thought of the country. It is a constructive speech, serious, solemn indeed in phrasing, but imbued, nevertheless, with a certain rugsed optimism which regards obstacles merely as things to be climbed over. The speech as a whole is one to make Congress and the people think.

Philadelphia Inquirer—President Harding thinks there is need to begin with the coordination of transportation facilities and he asserts that "public interest demands that ample power be conferred upon the labor tribunal whether the present board or the suggested substitute, to require its rulings to be accepted by both parties to a disputed question." Of course he is right in that, but the matter is not likely to be pushed at this session for wan to time, and he will have a cantankerous lot of radicals on his hands when the next Congress convenes, with the railroad labor leaders backing up La Follette and the latter's bloc against anything of the sort.

Public Ledger—The measure of Mr. Harding's hold upon the imagination, the

thing of the sort.

Public Ledger—The measure of Mr.
Harding's hold upon the imagination, the program of subjects for debate and con-troversy. He tells of some things he thinks should be done, and for some of them he offers a concrete proposal. The acceptance or neglect of the remedies he names will be a test of his leadership. Mr. Harding has done his part, as well as within him lies. He has disclosed himself. It is now for public opinion to

Pittsburgh Dispatch — The President boildy tackles the domestic problems of the day in his message to Congress and n the main with constructive recomdations. On the whole, it is a practical message worthy the perusal of every citizen.

Pittsburgh Post—With President Harding's generalities in his 8,000 word message to Congress on a number of subjects there will, of course, be general assent. What is the main trouble but a lack of thrilling leadership at Washington? Assin and assin the Washington? Again and again the President has been applauded as saying the right word, but neither he nor any of his partisans in Congress has been able to get that body to respond in a vigorous and helpful manner.

Cleveland Plain Dealer-Practically every important question that has occu-pled the minds of Americans in recent months finds a place in the message which President Harding delivered to which President Harding delivered to Congress in person. The Executive evades nothing, equivocates not at all and discusses matters in plain language. It any of the several blocs in Congress call this or that proposal treason, let it make the most of it—as it will. Mr. Harding gives his colleagues plenty to think about and the present session will not hear the end of them.

insistent on American rights wherever they may be questioned, and deny no rights of others in the association of rights of others in the association of our own. Moreover, we are cognizant of the world's struggles for full readjustment and rehabilitation, and we have shirked no duty which comes of sympathy, or fraternity, or highest fellowship among nations.

Every obligation consonant with American ideals and sanctioned under our form of Government is willingly met. When we cannot support we do not demand. Our Constitutional limitations do not forbid the exercise of a moral influence, the measure of which is not less than the high purposes we

tations do not forbid the exercise of a moral influence, the measure of which is not less than the high purposes we have sought to serve.

After all there is less difference about the part this great republic shall play in furthering peace and advancing humanity than in the manner of playing it. We ask no one to vancing humanity than in the man-ner of playing it. We ask no one to assume responsibility for us; we as-sume no responsibility which others must bear for themselves, unless na-tionality is hopelessly swallowed up in internationalism.

OF HARDING SPEECH PRAISE OF MESSAGE

Congress Unexpectedly Favorable.

POSITIVE' ONE COMMENT FARM PLAN LIKED BEST

bers See Extra Session Unavoidable.

Following is some of the editorial comment of newspapers published this morning on President Harding's message to Congress:

New York Times—It is needless at the moment to follow the President in the wide field which he traverses. When his proposals get off paper into the his proposals get off paper into the concrete, it will be time enough to debate them. The general spirit of his message is excellent. It may be a pity message is excellent. It may be a pity to the proposal service of the proposal service

but would have to await the attention of

situation in the country. Of course, the ship subsidy and the appropriations will occupy most of our attention in this Congress."

Doubts if Remedies Are Given Senator Norris (Rep., Neb.): "The President's message was beautiful. He told us a good many things. I doubt if he suggested any remedies. That was particularly true of the transportation situation. He very truthfully said that railroad rates are too high and must come down. That's absolutely true, but the President did not tell us how it is to be done."

Senator New (Rep., Ind.): "It was a very strong message. The recommenda-tions were to the point and excellent. It was one of the best the President has

Senator Watson (Rep., Ind.): "It was the best message President Harding has ever delivered." Senator McNary (Rep., Ore.): It

was particularly pleased with what the President had to say on agricultural credit and on transportation."
Senator Poindexter (Wash.): "It was a great message. It was comprehensive and responsive to the needs of the nation." Senator Underwood (Ala.), the Dem-

Senator Underwood (Ala.), the Democratic floor leader: "I would not like to express an offhand opinion about the message. I might discuss it later. There are some things in it which I approve and some I do not. Of course, there is no chance at this session to consider many of the things suggested. We may get to rural credits legislation."

Senator Simmons, ranking Democrat of the Finance Committee: "An excellent piece of writing; the best the President has delivered, but I cannot approve of all of it." The rural credits legislation suggested, he said, did not go far enough and amounted merely to an elaboration of the farm loan legislation, whereas the farmer needed a more elastic loan system than the Harding program seemed to carry.

Fordney Indorses Message.

Representative Fordney (Rep., Mich.), chairman of the Ways and Means Committee: "It was the finest Fresidential message I've heard. I agree that wought to abolish tax exempt securities. His reference to freight rates and statement that the costs of transportation including labor and materials must come down first rings true. His appeal for law enforcement is timely."

Representative Ketcham (Rep., Mich.), Grange leader: "The President's prop-

Grange leader: "The President's proposition for farmers' credit is gilt edge. You cannot express my compliments to him too strongly. He is right when he said the banking situation must be added justed to meet the farmers' turnover Representative Garrett (Dem., Tenn.);